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CHARLESTON, S. C.

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DAVID RAMSAY: HISTORIAN OR PLAGIARIST?

By ELMER DOUGLASS JOHNSON

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

In 1789 there appeared one of the first and most popular histories of the American Revolution. Its author was Dr. David Ramsay, a physician of Charleston, South Carolina, a former Congressman, and a writer already acclaimed as an outstanding historian for his two-volume *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina* . . . which had appeared in 1785. Ramsay not only produced these two major works, but in later years he turned out a two-volume history of South Carolina, a biography of George Washington, a three-volume history of the United States, and a nine-volume "universal history." These, together with a few lesser works, should insure their author with a permanent place in American historiography as a major figure. But such is not the case. Although Ramsay's works were popular for a generation or two, and those on South Carolina have been most generously used by later historians, his reputation as a whole has been dimmed by serious charges of plagiarism. Was Ramsay a historian of major significance, as the volume of his work would indicate, or was he a master copyist? The facts of the case seem to indicate that he was partly both, and not wholly either.

David Ramsay was born in Philadelphia in 1749 and educated at the College of New Jersey. Later he completed medical studies under Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, and then, early in the 1770's, he left his native state and took up residence in Charleston. He achieved almost immediate popularity there, both as a physician and as a politician, and by 1775 he was prominently involved in the early stages of the Revolution. He served as a member of the South Carolina legislature from 1776 to 1781, with time out on several occasions to serve as an army surgeon in the field. In 1780, at the capture of Charleston by the British, Ramsay was taken prisoner along with other prominent leaders, and imprisoned for the remainder of the war at St. Augustine, Florida. During this period of enforced idleness, Ramsay began working on a history of the Revolution, largely from his own recollections of the early events. After returning to Charleston he continued his writing, gathering additional information from the South Carolina leaders. He was almost immediately elected to the Continental Congress, and in Philadelphia he collected further information for his history. He obtained copies of important documents, both public and private, local and national, which

he later used for his source materials. He corresponded about his work with Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, Jeremy Belknap, the New Hampshire historian, and even with Christoph Ebeling, a German scholar interested in American history.¹ Thus, with his own first-hand knowledge of many events, with easy access to official sources, and with advice and cooperation on all sides, Ramsay would appear to have had an excellent opportunity to turn out a sound historical work.

But what Ramsay lacked was the know-how. He soon found that he could not produce a history of the Revolution as a whole, and so he decided to concentrate on a history of the war in South Carolina. In his preface he noted that "his knowledge of the affairs of the middle and northern states was not sufficiently particular to warrant his attempting the history of the whole. By limiting his subject he has been enabled to be more particular, and, he presumes, more accurate."² The result was a *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina from a British Colony to an Independent State* . . . published in Trenton, New Jersey, in 1785, in two volumes. In many respects, this first effort towards history writing was Ramsay's best and most important. It was in reality a history of the Revolution in the South, covering most of the major engagements and developments, particularly after 1780, from Virginia southward. For his sources, Ramsay gave the documents that he had managed to copy in Charleston and Philadelphia, and his correspondence with prominent leaders. He noted that "Where his own knowledge was insufficient, he has sought for information from those who were the immediate actors . . . ; from these original sources he has compiled the following work." Furthermore, he declared that "embracing every opportunity of obtaining genuine information, he has sought for truth . . . and asserted nothing but what he believes to be a fact."³ As a final check on his work before publication, Ramsay submitted it to General Nathanael Green for reading and correcting.⁴ Within the limits of his time and ability, he apparently tried to make this first work as thorough and as accurate as possible.

Generally speaking, the *Revolution of South-Carolina* was well-written. Ramsay's style was readable, and he was careful not to make the work too dry with facts and figures. He was distinctly American in his viewpoint, but he was not vindictive toward the British. If he scored the enemy Col. Banastre Tarleton for his cruelty at the battle of Wax-

¹ R. Y. Hayne, "David Ramsay", *Analectic Magazine*, VI, (1815), 204-224; C. D. Ebeling, "Letters . . .", American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, XXXV, (1925), 290.

² *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina*, I, vi.

³ *Ibid.*, I, vii, viii.

⁴ R. Y. Hayne, *op. cit.*, 214.

haws, he praised Maj. Patrick Ferguson of the British army for his bravery at Kings Mountain. Conversely, while he praised the South Carolina partisans, Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter, he had scant regard for the abilities of the "three month militia" who made up most of the American forces. He tried, as he said, "to impress on himself how much more honourable it was to write impartially, for the good of mankind, than to condescend to be the apologist of a party."⁵

The first volume began with a brief history of South Carolina prior to the Revolution, and this was followed with a rather full account of events in the state from 1775 to 1778. Over half of this volume was given over to "Notes", which were actually the documentary sources printed in full. Many of these were of national rather than state significance, including acts of the Continental Congress, and military decrees from both sides. In the second volume, the narrative continued the account of the war in the South from the fall of Savannah through the capture of Charleston and campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Carolinas and Virginia, down to the battle of Yorktown. One of the most valuable sections of the work was a chapter devoted to economic and social conditions within South Carolina during the war. Documentary "notes" again took up a third of the volume, but this time they were more closely concerned with South Carolina, and included addresses, letters and proclamations of the state's military and political leaders.

This first effort at historical writing was well received by Ramsay's contemporaries. Thomas Jefferson aided him in selling the work in England, and even succeeded in getting it published in a French edition in Paris. With such success, and with Jefferson encouraging him by writing that "I am happy to hear you are occupied on the general history. It is a subject worthy of your pen,"⁶ Ramsay began work on his *History of the American Revolution*. Here again, Ramsay was well qualified to do a sound historical study. As a member of Congress he had access to official records, and as a friend of the Revolutionary leaders who were still very much in their prime, he had their full support and cooperation. He wrote in his preface that "The materials for the following sheets were collected in the years 1782, 1785 and 1786, in which years, as a member of Congress, I had access to all the official papers of the United States. . . . At present I thought it prudent to publish little more than a simple narrative of events, without introducing my authorities."⁷ Having thus indicated the sources of his information, without bothering to name them specifically, Ramsay wrote his history, not from

⁵ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I, ix.

⁶ Thomas Jefferson, *Works*, ed. by A. E. Bergh, V, 455, 225.

⁷ *History of the American Revolution*, I, ix.

the original sources, but from the pages of his own earlier work, from the *British Annual Register*, and from the pages of William Gordon's *History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States*.

It is the inter-relationship of these three works that brings out the charge of plagiarism against Ramsay. The *Annual Register* was a yearly summary of events, published in London and largely edited by Edmund Burke. Its coverage of the war in America was remarkably full, and its pages provided source material for many early Revolutionary historians. In addition to several anonymous histories that were literal copies of the *Register* articles, the four-volume history of William Gordon came primarily from that source. Gordon was a minister who had spent some time in New England just prior to the war, but who had returned to his native England in 1775. His history, in the form of letters, appeared in 1788, and Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution* was published just one year later. Gordon had used, in addition to the *Register*, the earlier volumes of Ramsay, so it was not surprising that Ramsay should borrow from Gordon's work when he began his general history. In fact, he apparently felt such use of other works to be only proper, if one can believe a statement that he was reported to have made. Ebenezer Hazard, in a letter to Jeremy Belknap in 1789, said, "Dr. Ramsay told me the other day that Gordon's History contains a very valuable collection of authentic materials, and, had he met with it sooner, it would have saved him a vast deal of trouble".⁸

The first volume of Ramsay's general history of the Revolution began with a brief sketch of the colonial period, followed by a fairly detailed summary of events from the Tea Act of 1773 through the Treaty of Alliance with France in 1778. The second took up the military history of the Revolution from 1779 through Yorktown, borrowing heavily from Ramsay's earlier work. There were additional chapters on Indian warfare, and on foreign affairs during the war, with a final note on "The New Constitution and President Washington". The style of this history was quite different from the earlier work, and resembled an encyclopedia, with terse statements of fact following one another in clocklike regularity. It was obviously a compilation of facts rather than a narrative history, and aside from the material taken from his own *Revolution of South-Carolina*, almost all of the material in the two volumes could be traced either to Gordon or to the *Annual Register*.

⁸ "Jeremy Belknap Papers", Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 5th series, II, 162.

Even in his first work, Ramsay had borrowed from the *Register* for material on events outside of South Carolina, or for happenings in that state during the period when he himself was in St. Augustine. For example, note the following comparison concerning the preparations for the battle of Yorktown:

Annual Register: The trenches were opened by both armies in the night between the 6th and 7th of October; their attacks were carried on with great vigour. . . . Shells reached even the ships in the harbour, where the *Charon* of 44 guns with some of the transports were burnt.⁹

Ramsay: The trenches were opened by the combined armies on the night of the sixth of October, and their attacks were carried on with great vigour. The shells from the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the *Charon*, of forty-four guns, with some of the transports, were burned.¹⁰

More often, Ramsay paraphrased his source, turning it to an American point of view, or otherwise condensing or qualifying it. Nevertheless, the connection remains obvious, as in the following paragraphs:

Annual Register: Nothing less than the certain hope and expectation of relief could have induced Lord Cornwallis to attempt the defence of a post, which he deemed so incapable of resisting the force opposed to it, as that which he now occupied. He would otherwise have attempted a retreat, however difficult, or he would even have hazarded an encounter in the open field. . . .¹¹

Ramsay: Lord Cornwallis was soon convinced that the post he occupied was incapable of resisting the force opposed to it; but, in the confident expectation of aid from New York, he declined attempting a retreat, or hazarding an engagement in the open field.¹²

In the following example, Ramsay picked his phrases from the *Register*, and changed the point of view to suit his own when he discussed the situation after the battle of Camden:

Annual Register: . . . the excessive heats and great unhealthiness of the season in South Carolina had laid an insuperable restraint upon the arms and activity of Lord Cornwallis, for no small time after the battle of Camden. . . . Lord Cornwallis had dispatched Col. Ferguson with his own corps of light infantry and a body of militia . . . to make incursions on the border of North Carolina.¹³

Ramsay: Whilst Lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations by the excessive heats and unhealthy season which followed his victory at Camden, Colonel Ferguson, of the seventy-first British regiment, had

⁹ *Annual Register*, 1781, 130.

¹⁰ *History of the Revolution of South-Carolina*, II, 323.

¹¹ *Annual Register*, 1781, 131.

¹² *Ramsay, Revolution of S. C.*, II, 323.

¹³ *Annual Register*, 1781, 51.

undertaken personally to visit the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field.¹⁴

Compare, also, William Gordon's use of the same paragraph, taken apparently from Ramsay rather than from the *Register*:

Gordon: While Lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations, by the excessive heats and unhealthy season which followed his victory at Camden, Colonel Ferguson, of the seventy-first British regiment, had undertaken personally to visit the settlement of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field.¹⁵

But in his *History of the American Revolution*, it was Ramsay that borrowed heavily from Gordon, as in the following case:

Gordon: The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for redress of grievances. Gen. Wayne and the other officers did everything in their power to quell the tumult. . . . Several officers were wounded and a captain killed in vainly attempting to reduce them.¹⁶

Ramsay: The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it.¹⁷

Ramsay of necessity had to condense his sources, but occasionally a well-turned phrase of Gordon's led to a verbatim reproduction. In the following excerpts, the *Register*-Gordon-Ramsay relationship is obvious, with the latter showing a little originality:

Annual Register: Early in the action, the Spanish ship San Domingo of 70 guns and 600 men, blew up, and all on board perished. The action and pursuit continued until two in the morning. . . .¹⁸

Gordon: Early in the action, the Spanish ship San Domingo of 70 guns and 600 men, blew up, and all on board perished. The action continued until two in the morning. . . .¹⁹

Ramsay: Early in the action, the Spanish ship San Domingo, mounting 70 guns, and carrying 600 men, blew up; and all on board perished. The action continued with great vigour, on both sides, for ten hours. . . .²⁰

On at least one occasion Ramsay found that Gordon, in borrowing from the *Revolution of South-Carolina*, had improved upon the phraseology, and so in compiling his later work he made use of this improvement:

¹⁴ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, II, 180.

¹⁵ Gordon, III, 462.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 18.

¹⁷ Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 219.

¹⁸ *Annual Register*, 1780, 202.

¹⁹ Gordon, III, 407.

²⁰ *American Revolution*, II, 372.

Ramsay (1785): . . . the resolution was soon taken of retreating to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this would complete the picture of distress.²¹

Gordon: A minute representation of this retreat from Charlotte to Salisbury would be the image of complicated wretchedness.²²

Ramsay (1789): It was therefore concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this retreat would be the picture of complicated wretchedness.²³

Ramsay's contemporaries apparently did not notice the close resemblance between his work and that of Gordon or the *Annual Register*, nor did the nineteenth century historians in general find fault with him. In the London edition of Ramsay's *American Revolution*, an "Advertisement by an English Friend" stated: "The particular history before us is at once short and full, as well as judicious, authentic and impartial, and is clearly the best extant on the subject".²⁴ An anonymous writer in the *Southern Quarterly Review* in 1850 said of Ramsay, that "in the work devoted wholly to the Revolutionary war, he deserves the highest praise for painstaking research, a clear, simple and intelligible style, and a well-ordered arrangement of contents".²⁵ William Smyth, writing on the American Revolution a few years later gave a twelve-page review of Ramsay, entirely favorable.²⁶ Sydney Fisher in 1912 could still praise Ramsay for his impartial approach to history, and say that "Ramsay rejects the guidance of the Whigs and the *Annual Register* and stands alone", although he was apparently referring to the author's attitude rather than his content.²⁷ Even Orin G. Libby wrote in 1899 that "No one who has read Ramsay would charge him with the gross plagiarism of which Gordon is continually guilty".²⁸ But three years later, after a more careful study of Ramsay and his sources, Libby changed his opinion, and wrote "It is evident that I must retract my first statement regarding Ramsay, and place him on the same level with Gordon".²⁹ Close examination had shown Libby that Ramsay had "compiled" his work from the pages of Gordon, the *Annual Register*, and a few minor sources.

²¹ *Revolution of South-Carolina*, II, 153.

²² *Gordon*, III, 448.

²³ *American Revolution*, II, 169.

²⁴ *American Revolution*, (London, 1793 ed.), I, iv.

²⁵ *Southern Quarterly Review*, XVIII, (1850), 68.

²⁶ William Smyth, *Lectures on Modern History*, (London, 1854), 361-373.

²⁷ Sydney G. Fisher, "The Legendary and Myth-making Process . . .", *American Philosophical Society, Proceedings*, LI, (1912), 64.

²⁸ O. G. Libby, "A Critical Examination of William Gordon's History . . .", *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, I, (1899), 379.

²⁹ O. G. Libby, "Ramsay as a Plagiarist", *American Historical Review*, VII, (1902), 701.

But Ramsay's historical writings did not end with his *American Revolution*. In the 1790's he turned to medicine and medical history as subjects "worthy of his pen", and wrote such short pieces as *A Dissertation on the Means of Preserving Health in Charleston and the Low Country*; ³⁰ *A Sketch of the Soil, Climate, Weather and Diseases of South Carolina*; ³¹ and *A Review of the Improvements, Progress and State of Medicine in the XVIIIth Century*.³² The first and third of these were comparatively original, but the second relied heavily on George Milligan's *Short Description of the Province of South Carolina* ³³ . . . , which had appeared a generation earlier. In 1807, Ramsay produced a readable *Life of George Washington*,³⁴ and this was one of his most interesting ventures, because it was simply and unashamedly a condensation and popularization of John Marshall's five-volume biography which had appeared in the previous three years.³⁵ This was noted by a contemporary reviewer who wrote, "With regard to Dr. Ramsay's book, it is plainly an abridgement of Mr. Marshall's, written, we presume, upon the supposition that a moderate octavo is more likely to be read than five massy quartos." ³⁶ To make the story even more complicated, the eminent Judge Marshall had done a little copywork himself, taking much of his account of the Revolution in the South, as given in his biography of Washington, from the pages of Gordon's and Ramsay's earlier volumes.³⁷

In 1809, Ramsay brought out another important work, at least from the South Carolina viewpoint. This was his two-volume, *History of South-Carolina, From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*. . . .³⁸ Here again, he copied heavily from his predecessors, particularly the earlier South Carolina history of Alexander Hewat.³⁹ In this case, his literary borrowing did not go unnoticed as long as his earlier deeds, for in 1836, B. R. Carroll wrote of "Dr. Ramsay, whose history of South

³⁰ Charleston, 1790.

³¹ Charleston, 1796.

³² Charleston, 1801.

³³ London, 1770.

³⁴ New York, 1807.

³⁵ *The Life of George Washington* . . . (Philadelphia, 1804-1807.)

³⁶ *Edinburgh Review*, XIII, (1808), 151.

³⁷ Compare Marshall, IV, 177 with Ramsay, *American Revolution*, II, 167, and Gordon, III, 447. See also W. A. Foran's "John Marshall as a Historian", *American Historical Review*, XLIII, (1937), 51-64.

³⁸ Charleston, 1809.

³⁹ *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*. . . . (London, 1779. 2 vols.) See also E. D. Johnson, "Alexander Hewat, South Carolina's First Historian", *Journal of Southern History*, XX, (1954), 50-62.

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Carolina is an exact copy of Hewat's, as far as he goes . . .",⁴⁰ and in 1856, W. J. Rivers mentioned "Hewat and his follower, Ramsay".⁴¹ Although most of his first volume came from Hewat's pages, Ramsay also copied extensively from his own earlier works for the period of the Revolution. The second volume of the South Carolina history was more original, containing economic and social history divided into special subject chapters, and consideration of the geography of the state. But even in these pages, Ramsay was sometimes forced to borrow from other works, particularly from John Drayton's *View of South Carolina* . . . which had appeared in 1802.⁴²

Next Ramsay turned to an extensive, three-volume *History of the United States from . . . 1607 to the Year 1808* . . . , which was published in 1816.⁴³ This was another compilation, and nearly half of it was simply copied from his own earlier volumes. For the history of the other parts of the nation, he turned to other local histories, such as Jeremy Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*,⁴⁴ and to more general works such as George Chalmers' *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*. . . .⁴⁵ This work did not receive the acclaim given to his earlier volumes; a contemporary reviewer called it "accurate, impartial and perspicuous", but he also said it was "prolix, sometimes even garrulous, not to say childish".⁴⁶ This United States history was in turn made a part of a twelve-volume *Universal History Americanized*,⁴⁷ which Ramsay was working on at the time of his death in 1815. This work was "compiled", with Ramsay selecting the material for inclusion, and his wife and daughters copying it.⁴⁸ It was published by his friends some four years after his death, as an attempt to raise funds for his orphaned children.⁴⁹

Although in his histories Ramsay was an expert copyist, he wrote two minor works that have literary if not historical merit, and at least appear to be wholly original. The first of these was his *Memoirs of the Life of Martha Laurens Ramsay* . . . ,⁵⁰ a eulogy of his wife, who was

⁴⁰ B. R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections, of South Carolina*, (New York, 1836, 2 vols.), I, 180.

⁴¹ *Sketch of the History of South Carolina* . . . , (Charleston, 1856) 267.

⁴² *A View of South Carolina as Respects Her Natural and Civil Concerns* . . . (Charleston, 1802).

⁴³ Philadelphia, 1810.

⁴⁴ Philadelphia and Boston, 1784-1792. 3 vols.

⁴⁵ London, 1779.

⁴⁶ *Analectic Magazine*, XIII, (1819), 311.

⁴⁷ Philadelphia, 1819. 12 vols.

⁴⁸ *Memoirs of the Life of Martha Laurens Ramsay*, 33.

⁴⁹ See preface to vol. I of *Universal History Americanized*.

⁵⁰ Boston, 1811.

the daughter of South Carolina's Revolutionary leader, Henry Laurens. The second was his *Eulogium Upon Benjamin Rush, M.D.*,⁵¹ published in 1813 as a tribute to his former teacher and lifelong friend. Both of these works saw Ramsay at his literary best, somewhat wordy, but sincere and eloquent. The small volume on his wife went through several editions and was reprinted as late as the 1840's.

Ramsay's historical writings, with the exception of the original chapters in his *Revolution of South-Carolina* and his *History of South-Carolina*, must be considered compilations rather than results of serious research. But Ramsay's interest in history cannot be doubted, and his devotion to a relatively thankless and profitless task, in the midst of an already busy career as physician and office-holder, must be appreciated. Plagiarist or not, he gave his country a relatively popular history of its achievement of independence, and one that was remarkably accurate and unbiased for its day. His habit of copying his sources literally was largely a custom of the era in which he lived, as one can see in the pages of William Gordon, John Marshall, or Hannah Adams,⁵² to mention only a few of his contemporaries who clipped generously from earlier works. If Ramsay was no Trevelyan or Channing, at least he was no "Parson" Weems; if not a scientific historian, certainly not a maker of myths. Plagiarism is a harsh word today; perhaps future historiographers will temper it a little and call David Ramsay not a plagiarist, but a "compiler of history" and allow him an honorable if minor niche in our history halls of fame.

⁵¹ Philadelphia, 1813.

⁵² Some 250 pages of Hannah Adams' *Summary History of New England . . .* (Dedham, Mass., 1799) show remarkable similarity to Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*.

THE CONFEDERATE ARCHIVES AND FELIX G. DeFontaine

By JAMES A. HOYT *

One of the most interesting, versatile and brilliant personalities among the galaxy of Southern journalists was Felix Gregory DeFontaine, one-time editor of the *Daily South Carolinian* at Columbia, war correspondent of the *Charleston Mercury*, writing as "Personne", and after the war, editor of the *New York Telegram*, and later on the *New York Herald*.

DeFontaine had been present at the fall of Fort Sumter in 1861, and had "scooped" the world on that event. He was also on the spot when the Confederacy collapsed, and he succeeded in securing for his subsequent personal enrichment some of the Confederacy's most valuable records.

When South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana sent representatives to Montgomery as the provisional Congress of the Confederate States, this Congress, of which Howell Cobb of Georgia was president, resolved itself into a constitutional convention, and on February 8, 1861, adopted the Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America. The convention ordered that the president have it "enrolled on parchment" and that one thousand copies be printed. Under this constitution, Jefferson Davis was elected president, and Alexander H. Stephens vice-president.

On March 11, 1861, the same Congress, again sitting as a constitutional convention, but with the addition of delegates from Texas, adopted the Constitution of the Confederate States of America. The original parchment copy of this document the University of Georgia has secured.

When Richmond was evacuated there was a desperate effort on the part of Confederate officials to destroy certain records and to preserve others. The story of these records has been partially told from time to time by different participants and witnesses, but Dr. Dallas D. Irvine of the National Archives in Washington, has put together in one article a comprehensive story of "The Fate of Confederate Archives", which appeared in the July 1939 issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Departmental records of the Confederacy were taken out of Richmond by various officials, who attempted to secrete and preserve them. Many documents, including the post office department records, were first

* Now residing at 918 Henderson Street, Columbia, S. C. For his career, see *Who's Who in America*.

taken to Charlotte, North Carolina, and, after the capture of Salisbury by Stoneman, the post office department records were removed to Chester, South Carolina, and turned over to the postmaster at that place. "Since it was not until the end of May that a Union officer was sent to Chester," says Dr. Irvine, "the records were subject to pillage during a considerable period and much scattered about."

In his sketch of DeFontaine, August Kohn states that DeFontaine "rescued the missing records of the Confederate cabinet under *peculiar circumstances* at Chester, S. C., when the Union forces were about to take possession of the town," and "he also saved many other documents of value", including the parchment originals of the two constitutions, and "an immensely valuable book in the shape of all of the official opinions of the attorney-general of the Confederacy from 1861, the only copy in existence."

Besides the post office department records, it appears that these other documents were sent along to Chester, and how DeFontaine obtained possession of them is told by Dr. Irvine:

When the archives were run down to Chester in April, 1865, a former war correspondent, F. G. DeFontaine, was publishing a newspaper in that town. According to his story, the quartermaster in charge, in abandoning the records, practically told him to help himself. At any rate DeFontaine went to the depot with a cotton truck and succeeded in carrying off a whole load of stationery and records. Among the records obtained were the provisional and permanent constitutions, the Indian treaties, patent drawings and a volume containing the official record of opinions of the attorney general.

That DeFontaine appreciated, as some of his contemporaries did not, the commercial value which these records would attain, is evident from subsequent events. As Dr. Irvine puts it:

DeFontaine certainly wrung the monetary value out of the two constitutions—while piously regretting that there was no Southern historical society rich enough to purchase them. Eventually, according to his own statement, few of the items originally obtained remained in his possession, most of them having found their way into the hands of other persons, who are deeply interested in their preservation. (*N. Y. Sun*, March 26, 1883.)

The original of the provisional constitution was bought from DeFontaine by the millionaire philanthropist, W. W. Corcoran, who established the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington. Mr. Corcoran presented the copy to the Southern Historical Society, and it is now in the Confederate Museum in Richmond.

The original of the permanent constitution "was sold in 1883 to Mrs. G. W. J. DeRenne and has since been associated with the Wymberly Jones DeRenne Georgia Library", says Dr. Irvine, and it is from this source that the University of Georgia obtained it.

At his death, DeFontaine still had in his possession the opinions of the attorney general, but the year following, 1897, they were sold to the New York Public Library.

"It is not impossible", says Dr. Irvine, "that other valuable records were included among the materials obtained by DeFontaine and that these were not later mentioned by him for the reason that he had sold them to persons who did not wish their possession of the items to be generally known." For years after the war, traffic in Confederate records seems to have been quite a business, regarded in some quarters with disdain, but the ex-Confederates were hard up, and it was in this way that some of them sought to cash in.

When DeFontaine died in Columbia, on December 11, 1896, the *Charleston News and Courier* published a sketch of his life, written by its Columbia correspondent, August Kohn, who stated that the sketch was taken from one "recently published". The sketch by John D. Wade in the *Dictionary of American Biography* conforms closely to Mr. Kohn's.

Felix DeFontaine's father was Louis Antoine DeFontaine, a French nobleman, but Kohn's sketch says that "two of his uncles, Felix and Gregory, after whom he was named, were celebrated *Italian* (?) professors, one being a member of the Court of Austria and the other of the Court of Napoleon." Both accounts agree that Chevalier Louis Antoine DeFontaine was attached to the Court of Charles X, and when the monarch fled from Paris as a result of the revolution of 1830, Louis DeFontaine accompanied him to Edinburgh and after living with him for several months in Holyrood Palace, came to the United States, and settled in Boston. There in 1832 he was married to a Miss Allen, "said to have been of the family of Ethan Allen".

Felix Gregory DeFontaine was born in Boston in 1834. He was educated by private tutors, and little is known of his youth. However, he became proficient as a shorthand reporter, and was for a time one of the reporters in the United States Senate. He also reported two of the most celebrated murder trials of the day—that of Professor Webster, in Boston, for the murder of Dr. Parkman; and in Washington that of Congressman (afterwards General) Daniel E. Sickles in 1859 for the killing of Philip Barton Key, district attorney, and relative of Francis

Scott Key. Many years later he published (1886) *DeFontaine's Condensed Long-Hand Rapid Writer's Companion*.

DeFontaine went to South Carolina in 1860 probably influenced by the Southern contacts made in Washington, and became one of the most ardent defenders of the South. There he married Georgia Vigneron Moore, daughter of Rev. George W. Moore of Charleston, and founded the *Daily South Carolinian* in Columbia. In February 1861, the *New York Herald* published in a series of articles his discussion of the anti-slavery agitation and of conditions then existing in the South. These were republished in 1861, in a booklet, *A History of American Abolition together with a History of the Southern Confederacy*, which gives besides, a census of the number of slaves in each of the slave states. A copy of the booklet is in the rare book section of the Library of Congress.

In 1861 DeFontaine sent the *New York Herald* an exclusive story of the attack on Fort Sumter, and gave the North the first information that the war had begun. Through his friendship with General Beauregard, DeFontaine was able to do this. Both were of French descent. The General permitted DeFontaine to use the telegraph from Charleston "in advance of all other journalists". His account of the capture of Fort Sumter, written or revised after the war, is in the series of articles entitled "Shoulder to Shoulder," written by him and published under the name of "Personne" in 1869 in the *XIX Century*, a Charleston magazine. The copy preserved in the Library of Congress contains also a number of manuscript letters from General Beauregard to Major Edward Willis of Charleston, written after the war and relating to information which the General was evidently collecting for his memoirs.

Also preserved is *Marginalia* by "Personne", a reprint in 1864 of his newspaper stories, which he dedicated to "Hon. George W. Trenholm, secretary of Treasury of the Confederate States of America . . . who in his own person nobly represents the highest type of Southern character." Printed on the steam power press of F. G. DeFontaine & Co., of Columbia, it contains a page advertisement of this establishment, which Kohn says was one of the largest newspaper offices in the South at the close of the war. It was totally destroyed when Sherman burned Columbia. DeFontaine also wrote after the war an account of the burning of Columbia.¹

In 1867, DeFontaine was secretary of the convention held in Columbia to consider the abuses of carpetbag rule, which then had hardly

¹ While editor of *The Columbia Record*, I endeavored to locate a copy, without success, and published a summary of the evidence.

begun. Shortly after, evidently renewing his friendship with James Gordon Bennett, he went to New York and was made editor of *The Evening Telegram*. As financial editor of the *New York Herald*, he served about seven years, and then became dramatic and music editor, a position which he held until ill health forced his retirement and he returned to Columbia. He was engaged in work upon "The Missing Records of the Confederacy" when an attack of pneumonia resulted in his death. His widow is quoted in newspapers of the time as saying she would complete and publish this book. Dr. Irvine thinks that her own death shortly after prevented, and the manuscript disappeared, but he hopes it may yet be found, for, "inasmuch as many valuable records of the Confederacy seem to have met their fate at or near Chester, it may contain information of prime importance."

During his newspaper career, DeFontaine published in addition to books and articles already mentioned, *A History of Yachting in the Old and New*; *The Story of the Great Eastern*; *Birds of a Feather, or the Life and Doings of Lord Dundreary*; *A Cyclopaedia of the Best Thoughts of Dickens*. This last work, of 600 pages, first published in 1873, later appeared as *The Fireside Dickens* in 1883, and at the time of DeFontaine's death in 1896 was in its ninth edition.

Kohn states that the name of DeFontaine is the only South Carolina name on the monument to war correspondents which was erected at Chickamauga in 1896.

SOME LETTERS OF WILLIAM DUNLAP SIMPSON 1860-1863

Edited by WILLARD E. WIGHT

Georgia Institute of Technology

The letters of William Dunlap Simpson,¹ written by one who held positions of importance during most of his lifetime, give the reader a glimpse of the Southern Democratic Convention at Richmond in 1860, several details of life on "the tented field" during the first two years of the War of Secession, and a more limited view into the life of a Confederate congressman. They also reveal something of the character of the man who was a leader of his people.

William Dunlap Simpson, son of John Wistar Simpson and his first wife Elizabeth Satterwhite, was born October 27, 1823, on his father's plantation, "Belfast," in Laurens District. After graduation from South Carolina College in 1843, and a year at Harvard Law School, he continued the study of law under Henry C. Young, with whom he formed a partnership after admittance to the bar in 1846. Simpson married the next year, Jane Elizabeth, his partner's daughter. In 1854 and again in 1858, he was elected to the House of Representatives. During the latter session he delivered a speech advocating dissolution of the federal Union and formation of a Southern Confederacy. Elected to the state Senate in 1860, he was a member of that body at the outbreak of the war. Firmly established in his chosen field, Simpson had by 1860 accumulated real and personal property in the amount of \$26,400, part of which was accounted for by thirty-one slaves.

From 1861 until 1863, Simpson was actively engaged in military service, first of South Carolina and then of the Confederate States of America. At the outbreak of hostilities, he was appointed to the staff of Major General Milledge L. Bonham, who commanded state troops in and around Charleston. He participated in the siege of Fort Sumter and accompanied Bonham to Virginia in late April. Considerable embarrassment for Simpson was occasioned by the questioning of the official status of Bonham's staff during the summer of 1861. Bonham had been appointed a brigadier general in the Confederate army, and had retained the staff which he had had as a major general of South Carolina Volunteers. The Confederate Quartermaster General ruled that he was not entitled to such a staff and the members were not entitled to pay from the Confederate Treasury.

Although shorn of his position, Simpson determined to continue in military service and returned to Laurens where he assisted Samuel McGowan in organizing the 14th South Carolina Infantry Regiment, which ultimately be-

¹ The originals are in the S. C. Baptist Historical Collection, Furman University Library, through whose cooperation they are published.

came a part of Gregg's Brigade. On September 9, 1861, he was elected major "after a hard fight of it, until the very last" by his backers. The following April he became lieutenant-colonel of the unit. Simpson actively fought in important battles of 1861-1863, including First Manassas, Seven Day's Fight, Gaines' Mill, Malvern Hill, Harper's Ferry and Antietam. In several of these, he served as commanding officer of the regiment. His military career closed with his election late in 1862 to the Confederate House of Representatives, in which he served until the end of that government.

Following the war he resumed legal practice and continued his interest in politics. In 1868 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention; and was elected to the national House of Representatives but was disqualified under the 14th Amendment. He was elected lieutenant-governor in 1876 when Wade Hampton and the Red Shirts secured home rule for South Carolina. Reelected, Simpson automatically became governor when Hampton was elected to the United States Senate. His closing years were spent as chief justice of the state Supreme Court, to which he was elected by the legislature in 1879 and 1886. He died in Columbia, December 26, 1890.

"His career was like that of many other Southerners of his class and age. Well born and handsome, pious and patriotic, competent but not brilliant, he accepted the opinions of his class and justified the series of honors conferred upon him because of conscientious service."²

[Goldsboro, N. C.
June 13, 1860]

My Dear Love

The convention adjourned to day (Wednesday) to await the action of the Baltimore convention.³ The Richmond Convention adjourned until

² F. B. Simkins, "William Dunlap Simpson", *Dictionary of American Biography* (here cited as D. A. B.); Ellison Capers, "South Carolina," C. A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History* (12 vols., Atlanta, 1899), V, 841-845; microfilm MS Schedule 1, Population, and Schedule 2, Slaves, Laurens District, Eighth Census, 1860, Emory University, original in National Archives; MS William Dunlap Simpson Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; photostat MS Muster Roll of Field, Staff and Band of 14th Regiment of S. C. Volunteers, S. C. Archives Department, original in National Archives; *Laurensville Herald*, Jan. 13, 1860; John W. Simpson, *William Dunlap Simpson: A Biography* (n. p., n. d.), *passim*.

³ After withdrawal of the Southern delegations, the National Democratic Convention in Charleston adjourned, to meet in Baltimore June 18. The seceders, who had moved to the Charleston Theatre, recessed to meet in Richmond June 11. The Southern congressmen in the interim persuaded all bolting delegations except those in South Carolina and Florida to attend the Baltimore meeting. South Carolina elected new delegates to the state Convention to name the delegates to Richmond. At the meeting in Laurens District, Simpson was on the committee to draft a series of resolutions which were adopted, and which approved withdrawal of the delegates

Thursday the 21st. The So Ca Delegation in Richmond are scattering off to different points most of them to Washington until the 21st. I concluded I would leave Richmond for Charlotte, remain there a day and make for Laurens as my wife and children were in that direction. I supposed that I could come through direct to Charlotte without delay—but here I am Wenday night—(one oclock) way down on the Wilmington and Weldon Road at a little place called Goldsboro—alone in a little room in the second story of what seems to be a very common Hotel and with no certainty when I shall reach Charlotte. I am in hope[s] however tomorrow night. The Charlotte train ought to have connected at Weldon, if it had, by this hour I should have been half way there for this connection does not take place only with the morning train from Richmond—I left in the evening train not knowing this.⁴ I do not know what to do as I said on the other page, on leaving Richmond this evening I thought I would stay a day in Charlotte and then come home and perhaps not return at all on the 21st—as our court you know is next week—and I have no money to throw away running back and forth—but our entire delegation has remained and will be back on the 21st and it may be that I should be there also, not that I can add much to the Delegation, but I am acting as the representative of others and they might make remarks about my accepting an appointment and then not discharging its duties. You will receive this on Thursday evening if it goes direct—please get Mr. Young⁵ to write to me by Friday mail directed to Charlotte—which

from the Charleston Convention, declared that there was no hope for the South in the National Democratic Party, that union of the South would result from the Convention in Richmond, and that the plea of Southern congressmen for return to the Baltimore Convention was "insulting to the pride and principles of those States who have seceded from the Charleston National Convention." The Richmond Convention met on schedule but decided to take no action until conclusion of the Baltimore Convention, and recessed. On June 26, delegates from nine states reconvened at Richmond, and ratified the nomination of Breckenridge and Lane. Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1948), 288-322; Charles E. Cauthen, *South Carolina Goes to War* (Chapel Hill, 1950), 20-25; *Laurensville Herald*, June 1, 8, 1860.

⁴ To reach Laurens from Richmond, he had to travel over six railroad lines: from Richmond to Weldon, N. C., by the Petersburg Railroad; from Weldon to Goldsboro, the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad; from Goldsboro to Charlotte, the North Carolina Railroad; from Charlotte to Columbia, the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad; from Columbia to Newberry, the Greenville and Columbia Railroad; and from Newberry to Laurens, the Laurens Railroad. Robert C. Black III, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1952), Map of the Confederate Railroads.

⁵ Henry Clinton Young (1794-1875) was born in Iredell County, N. C., the son of Archibald and Nancy (Nisbet) Young. He married in 1827 his first cousin, Lucy, only child of John M. and Jennie (Nisbet) Young. In 1860 he possessed

letter I ought to get Friday night in time to leave there that night if he says I must come home to court—no I can not get the letter in time but if he will write it anyhow, I would receive it at least [by] Saturday which would still give me time either to come home or return to Richmond as he may advise, the court is the obstacle—and I dont remember any case, that I can give him aid. I ask this so that should I conclude when I get to Charlotte to remain within easy reach of Richmond and also of home—I may hear from him—as to the court—and as to how you and the family are getting on before I determine which course to take. If I remain in Charlotte for this letter from your Pa—of course I can not get home before Monday evening, if he says come—if he says there is no necessity I will probably return to Richmond and will not be at home for a week or more yet. If I had been certain that you were well and safe and sound I think I should have gone on to Washington with the others, but I could not resist the desire to start toward home at least.

Yours

W. D. SIMPSON.

Get your Pa to be certain to write Friday—if I dont remain in Charlotte it will do no harm—I found this half sheet of paper in the drawer of a table. I have no more—do not look for me until you see me—I am well and want to get home badly.

your husband

W. D. SIMPSON.

Weldon N C—
Wednesday morning
[April 24, 1861]

My Dear Dear Love—

I did not expect when I left home, that I would get so far away—but so it is—we are on our way for Richmond—when I arrive there I will state more fully the object of our expedition—and what may be expected.

Bonham's Staff,^o at least the most of us, did not expect—when he himself recd orders to repair to Virginia that we should go—but the

property valued at \$60,400, including 39 slaves. Simpson, *Simpson*, 7; Schedules 1 and 2, 1860 Census; Young Family Tree.

^o Milledge Luke Bonham (1813-1890), of Edgefield, was graduated from South Carolina College in 1834. A member of the S. C. Brigade in the Seminole War, and later a major general of state militia, he served several terms in the legislature, then was with the 12th Infantry in the War with Mexico. From 1857 to 1860, he represented Edgefield in the House, succeeding his cousin, Preston S. Brooks. He was

Governor gave him a special order to retain us in his present position, until President Davis should assign him a staff from the Confederate Army. The news here is that the great tenth regiment of New York was cut to pieces in Maryland the other day on its way to Washington. The farmers of the country threw the cars off[f] the track and before shooting in upon them with their duck guns. Killed over five hundred and took the remainder prisoners, the news is too good to be true.

When I think of you and our little flock, way off, [illegible] I know you wont be. I find it right hard to keep my spirits up—but I pray God our separation will not be long—should it have been decreed otherwise may he watch over you and our children—I am well and have enjoyed excellent health.

Allen⁷ is still with me—for the last two or three days he was badly frightened but is getting better. I ordered some bacon home from Charleston—sent you \$174.00 by W C Harris, I did not need it and I know I left you without any money—the bell is about ringing—and the cry of all aboard is sounding. Good bye God preserve you. Kiss Labe and Lol and Ella, Henry, Gus and the babe⁸ all for me. Tell them for me they must be good children and mind every thing that Ma says to them.

Your affectionate husband

W. D. SIMPSON.

Richmond
May 2d 1861

My Dear Love

The letters were brought into our room this morning and every member of our party with the exception of myself recd one and two from their loved ones at home—no letter for Simpson yet, was the general

major general of state troops around Charleston until April 1861, when he became a brigadier in the Confederate Army. Resigning in 1862, he was elected to the Confederate Congress, and later that year, governor of South Carolina. Active in the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876, he was appointed in 1878, Railroad Commissioner, a position he held until his death. James E. Walmsley, "Milledge L. Bonham," *D. A. B. Charleston Mercury*, April 23, 1861, lists the members of Bonham's staff.

⁷ Simpson's slave who served as his "body servant," and "whom many other staffs wanted to buy." Simpson, *Simpson*, 12.

⁸ In 1860 Simpson's children were: Lucy Elizabeth, aged 11; Laura Wells, aged 9; Henry Young, aged 6; Mary Eloise, aged 4; Wistar Augustus, aged 2. Later children were: William Dixie, born 1860-61; Ernest, born February 1864; and John Wells. *Ibid.*, 7; Schedule 1, 1860 Census.

remark. What can be the matter. I dont like to complain but it seems that I am unfortunate—the last trunk to be taken from the cars or baggage wagon is mine. If a name is to be spelled wrong or omitted in the papers it is mine—and worse than all, I am the last to have a letter from my wife. Well, there is no other true philosophy but to endure with as much patience as possible. It is true one's self importance is somewhat stricken down, when he finds himself overlooked—but I shall console myself with the belief that such is not my situation—at least for a few mails yet. Seriously, my object in writing this morning is to beg to hear from you—do write to me often. I have no news to communicate, other than contained in my letter of yesterday. The news North indicated a long and terrible war not far ahead of us.

We have in all probability lost Maryland and a thoroughfare is opened to the Abolitionists from the North to Washington. [President Jefferson] Davis is not arrived here yet—and unless he comes soon and makes some demonstrations I would not be surprised if [General Winfield] Scott did not commence an invading march. The troops at Washington are splendidly equipped with the best arms and munitions of war as we know here notwithstanding what is said about them in the papers, and old Scott is traitor enough to march even upon his native State—the cry here is let them come—if nothing but war will do—the sooner the conflict begins the better for all parties.

We are not in camp yet⁹ because we can not get tents, we have ordered them from Charleston and are looking for them every day.

Yours affectionately

W D SIMPSON

⁹ Everywhere en route to Richmond, crowds assembled to see the heroes of Fort Sumter: "Our passage here was like the march of a victorious army after peace. . . . All along, from Charleston to this point, we received the plaudits of the people." Arriving April 24th, the commanding officer and staff were serenaded at noon the next day at the Exchange Hotel. "Cols. Boylston and Simpson of Gen. Bonham's Staff, made eloquent responses in behalf of the South Carolina troops." "Their encampments were thronged by visitors, who wished to hear from the lips of the young volunteers, the wonderful story of the bloodless victory at Fort Sumter. The evening dress-parade attracted admiring crowds of ladies, to whom every soldier seemed a hero." *Charleston Mercury*, April 25, 26, 29, May 1, 1861. Sallie A. Putnam, *Richmond During the War; Four Years of Personal Recollections* (New York, 1867), 29.

Centerville, Va., June 10, 1861¹⁰

My Dear: You will see from the above that we have changed our camp again. Centerville is situated about half way between Manassas Junction and Fairfax C.H. Col. Gregg's Regiment¹¹ has been encamped here about two weeks. We remained only two days at Bull's Run, where Col. Kershaw¹² is encamped. Bull's Run is about three miles from this place and between it and Manassas. We left Bull's Run yesterday morning, or rather we struck our tents about 10 o'clock. You have never seen tents struck—it is rather a pleasing spectacle, but I will not stop to describe it now. We have changed quarters so often that our Staff with the assistance of the servants, or rather the servants with the assistance of the Staff, are getting to be quite expert in this duty of the soldier.¹³ My boy Allen knows all about it, and I wish those Yankees could see with what a will he and the other negroes of the Staff assist us in all our duties, and hear with what gusto they abuse old Abe and his rascally and piratical cohorts. They are pretty badly scared, but there is one thing certain, if they run at all they will not run towards the enemy—they have a perfect horror of the protection of the Yankees.

Just as we were leaving our camp at Bull's Run on yesterday, a courier came dashing up with the report that 3000 of the enemy had entered the town of Fairfax and had engaged our advance guard stationed at that place; that half of Col. Gregg's Regiment had hurried on

¹⁰ This and the following letter are from the *Laurensville Herald*, June 14, 28, 1861. Caroliniana Library, University of S. C.

¹¹ Maxcy Gregg (1814-1862), born in Columbia, was admitted to the bar in 1839, and served in the War with Mexico. Active in politics and a leader of the State-Rights Party, he was a member of the Secession Convention and of the committee which framed the Secession Ordinance. Colonel of the 1st (Gregg's) Regiment of S. C. Infantry, the first S. C. troops to reach Virginia, and a brigadier in December 1861, he commanded Gregg's Brigade and was killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 14, 1862. S. S. McKay, "Maxcy Gregg," *D. A. B.* A notable military history is James F. J. Caldwell, *The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians Known as "Gregg's", and Subsequently as "McGowan's Brigade"* (Philadelphia, 1866).

¹² Joseph Brevard Kershaw (1822-1894), born in Camden, served in the War with Mexico as a lieutenant of the Palmetto Regiment until relieved because of illness. He later was a member of the legislature, and of the Secession Convention. He recruited and was colonel of the 2d S. C. Infantry. As Confederate brigadier, in early 1862, he commanded Kershaw's Brigade. Surrendering on April 6, 1865, he was imprisoned at Fort Warren. Upon release, he resumed his law practice in Camden, and in 1877 was elected judge of the Fifth District. He retired in 1893 because of poor health. At his death, he was postmaster at Camden. Charles D. Rhodes, "Joseph Brevard Kershaw," *D. A. B.*

¹³ While at Centerville, Bonham's Brigade occupied Camp Gregg in the woods, and Camp Bonham in a pasture. *Mercury*, June 17, 1861.

to the scene of the conflict, and that the fight was raging with fury. Gen. Bonham, with one or two of his Staff had already gone forward, with a view of selecting a place to pitch our tents, and the balance of us had all our camp furniture, trunks, &c., packed away on the wagons ready for starting. When the news came, we had to unlimber and get our pistols out of our trunks—rather a curious place for a soldier to carry his arms, says you?—but we were not expecting an alarm. It was the Sabbath day; the sun that morning had risen beautifully; all nature seemed calm and peaceful, and we thought the proper place, on that day at least, for our side arms, was in the bottom of our trunks; but we soon got ready, and Col. A[ldrich],¹⁴ Col. B[oyleston] and myself—the other members of the Staff having already having got under way—and set off in company for the conflict. We were somewhat serious, for the report was so direct we could not doubt its truth; but we were soon revived by the unbounded cheerfulness of Col. A[ldrich], who, out of the “nettle danger, plucks the flower, safety.” Before we had gone far, however, we met another messenger who reported to us that it was all a flash in the pan. This relieved us and we rode on at our leisure to Centerville, having left instructions to our baggage wagons to come on to that point. We encamped in this place and our tents are pitched in a church yard with Col. Gregg’s Regiment near by. Just as we drove into the churchyard we met a sad scene, and one which cast a gloom over us during the night. A young soldier of Capt. Boykin’s¹⁵ company had died the day before, a grave had been dug in the corner of the yard, and the whole regiment had assembled to see the body interred. We

¹⁴ Alfred Proctor Aldrich (1814-1896), after graduation from the College of Charleston, was admitted to the bar and removed to Barnwell. He served in the Florida War on the staff of Col. Brisbane, and was in the legislature in 1857. Later he was a commissioner to lay the cause of secession before the legislature of Missouri. He was in Virginia on the staff of Gen. Bonham until after 1st Manassas, and then on the staff of Gen. Gregg. Badly injured in a railroad wreck, he was unfitted for service. During the war, Aldrich was Speaker of the S. C. House. Elected judge of the S. C. circuit court in 1866, he was removed by the federal commander of the military district. Restored to the bench in 1876, he continued there until shortly before his death. Capers, *Confederate Military History*, V, 428-430; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, LIII, 281; Series 4, II, 269; III, 161; *Mercury*, April 23, 1861.

¹⁵ Thomas L. Boykin, son of Edward M. and Mary Boykin, was captain of Company N, 1st Regiment (Gregg’s) Infantry. Later he joined the cavalry and on Feb. 3, 1864 he became 2d Sergeant of Company K, 7th Regiment. He was killed May 30, 1864, at Old Church, Virginia, in the same engagement in which his father, who commanded Company K, was wounded. F. M. Hutson, S. C. Archives Department, to editor, March 19, 1954; Mary Boykin Chestnut, (Ben Ames Williams, editor) *A Diary from Dixie* (Boston, 1949), *passim*.

joined in the procession, and a more solemn scene I have never witnessed. The principal mourner was a younger brother of the deceased, a member of the same company, but many a brave heart sympathized with him, and many a stern face was bathed in tears as the cold clods rattled upon his coffin. What a crushing blow to his friends and relatives when the news of his death shall reach them at home! Had he died on the battle field, bravely fighting for his country, there could have been some consolation in the manner of his death; but to die from disease, so far from home, and among strangers, and to be buried in a strange land, is a sad fate.¹⁶

I don't know how long we will remain at this place. We have but one advance guard between us and the enemy—this is at Fairfax C.H. I would not be surprised at our moving of these in a few days. Our General takes the front rank, and if the enemy is met at all in this military district, the South Carolina Brigade will be among the first to receive the shock. Should this be our fortune and should we fall, I am sure the South will avenge us. We hear rumors of an intended approach on the part of the Yankees, but we have been hearing them for days, and they have not made their appearance yet. We have nothing to do but wait—mark time—and keep our powder dry, and this we are doing. The vedettes on each side have a little skirmish every day or so with varying success. Sometimes we take them by surprise and capture them, and sometimes they return the compliment.

W.D.S.

Centreville, Camp Gregg
June 17, 1861

Our headquarters are still at Centreville. We have one Carolina Regiment with us, the 8th, Col. Cash,¹⁷ and several troops of Virginia

¹⁶ For a variant account see Simpson, *Simpson*, 15. "We were saddened yesterday by the death of a young man named J. C. Gardner, of Company N, Captain Boykin. He was young—not more than 19 years of age—and accompanied by a brother younger than himself; . . . As evening came the offices of the Episcopal Church were read over his remains, and as the sun sunk below the Blue Ridge, which bounds the horizon in the distance, a volley of musketry fired over his grave, announced that the ceremony of interment was completed." *Charleston Mercury*, June 15, 1861.

¹⁷ E. B. C. Cash of the 8th Infantry. At First Manassas, Cash's sergeant-major, W. S. Mullins, captured Congressman Alfred Ely of New York, "who, armed with a revolver, had come upon the field to enjoy the pleasure of witnessing our defeat." Cash was a principal in the Cash-Shannon duel of 1880, the last duel fought on South Carolina soil. Claud Estes, *List of Field Officers, Regiments, and Battalions in the Confederate States Army, 1861-1865* (Macon, 1912), 24; O. R., Series 1, II, 531.

Cavalry. Col. Gregg's Regiment left here day before yesterday for Fairfax C. H. That Regiment is in an advance position, and if a fight takes place in this quarter it will be among the first to meet the shock. Our State could have no better representatives on the first field of battle than Col. Gregg and his gallant command. I never saw a finer body of men. They are well drilled and thoroughly prepared for any emergency. They will follow wherever Col. Gregg leads, and there is no doubt about his leading wherever duty may call him. His Regiment seems to be perfectly devoted to him.

Col. Kershaw's Regiment is still at Bull's Run. His camp is known as Camp Beauregard. It is situated on the bluff of a small creek, and is one of the best places to make a stand in all the country. If the Yankees come by this road, I don't think they will ever get beyond Camp Beauregard. Col. Bacon's Regiment¹⁸ is in the same neighborhood. I have not heard yet of the arrival in Virginia of the other Carolina Regiments; but suppose that some of them are at Richmond, and among them the 3d.¹⁹ I have looked with much anxiety to the action of that Regiment, and am rejoiced to know that the Laurens boys will soon be here. I know the material of our companies from that loved old District, and I want them to have a place in the magnificent picture which is being rapidly delineated in the Old Dominion.

As Col. Cash's Regiment marched into Centreville yesterday, to take the place of the 1st Regiment, I was surprised to see a lady with a canteen swung around her neck marching by the side of a member of one of the companies. Upon inquiry I found that she was the wife of the young soldier with whom she marched, and when the Regiment left home had joined it with the determination of sharing its fate. She is a little body and handsome, and undergoes all the fatigues of camp life, I understand as heroically as any soldier in the Regiment. May her devotion be crowned with a glorious reward.

Our old friend, Col. J. W. Harrington,²⁰ is a Captain of one of the companies in Col. Cash's Regiment. He is the officer of the day to-day, and has just left the office occupied by Col. B. and myself, which we

¹⁸ Thomas C. Bacon was elected colonel of 7th S. C. Infantry, Feb. 23, 1861. Estes, *Field Officers*, 7; F. M. Hutson to editor, March 19, 1954.

¹⁹ The 3d South Carolina Infantry, James H. Williams, Colonel, entered state service at Columbia, April 13, 1861 and was mustered into Confederate service June 6, 1861. A. S. Salley, ed., *South Carolina Troops in Confederate Service*, 3 vols., (Columbia, 1913-1930), II, 286.

²⁰ John W. Harrington commanded Company G, formerly the Marlboro' Guards, 8th S. C. Infantry. *Charleston Mercury*, April 24, 1861.

have obtained as a Provost Marshall's office during our stay here.²¹ The Captain has a fine company, and is discharging his duties with great credit to himself. The Col. of the Regiment, you know, is our old friend E. B. C. Cash. He is deservedly proud of his command, and they equally so of him. In his Regiment are several of our college friends. In fact you would be astonished at the number of acquaintances I meet with. We have had some notion of calling the roll of the House and Senate and organizing our Legislature. Col. Boylston has had some experience as speaker, and I think we could, without much difficulty get a quorum to do business.

This is a delightful country. Clover fields abound and consequently we have beef, butter and buttermilk in abundance. What say you of mutton chops every morning for breakfast? Our cook is an old negro, Jupiter by name, belonging to Col. A., and he is invaluable to our mess. He is a splendid artist, and takes great pride in doing his very best. The mountains are in full view, reaching around one half of the horizon, making the scenery grand and beautiful and the climate very fine. This country is too pretty a country to be devastated by war, but such in all probability, is to be its fate, how soon I cannot tell, I thought the tocsin would be sounded before this, but it is still delayed. It may be that this is the lull before the storm, and it may be that the storm will burst at some other point. We cannot see into the future, and it is perhaps well that we cannot, but there is one thing, certain, our troops here will never be conquered.

I have not had the pleasure of seeing much of Gen. Beauregard since we left Manassas. I have no doubt, however, that he is doing all that can be done to make our success certain. He is fortunate in having the assistance of our immediate chief, Gen. Bonham, in this department and in the front rank. Gen. Bonham is a man of wonderful energy, and develops commanding powers for the position which he now fills.

W.D.S.

²¹ "It will interest the friends of Cols. Boylston and Simpson, of Gen. Bonham's Staff, to know that they are in the way of becoming very sufficiently employed. Since coming face to face with the enemy, it has been necessary to close our lines against communications, and to do so it is necessary to close them against any kind of passage or transportation. Still there are necessary exceptional cases. Our own scouts and couriers must pass from post to post, and so must persons whose objects are unquestionable. But to exercise a sound discretion on these matters—that is to administer martial law in wisdom—requires time and no ordinary degree of character, ability and nerve. . . . That office has been imposed upon our friends, above mentioned, and in the shop of Dr. Alexander, on Main-street, they opened their court military." *Charleston Mercury*, June 17, 1861.

Head Qtrs 14th Regt S C V
July 6, 1862

My dear Love—

I have been so constantly employed for the last ten days marching counter marching—fighting and so forth that I have had no opportunity whatever to drop you a line even. I did send one dispatch at least—I sent it into Richmond and a friend Coll. Hammond²² promised me he would send you a despatch after the second fight we were in. I don't know whether he did or not—we have now pushed the enemy some 30 miles from Richmond and we are way down here in the Swamps of James and Chickahomony and have no opportunity either of receiving from Richmond our mail or getting any there. You can hardly imagine my state of anxiety and distress on account of the death of poor Gussy²³—events of such awful character tho have been crowding themselves before me for the last 6 or 8 days, and I have been so absolutely compelled to nerve myself up to meet them, that to some extent a careless observer would think I was bearing his loss well—but oh the *keen keen* agony that I felt [*sic*] when I think of the poor little fellow—and the awful suspense when I think of the rest—the only consolation I can get is this—The world is full of wickedness deceit meanness selfishness and all that is vile, that he who dies early is saved a vast amount of trouble—and what is our loss may be Gussy's gain—but oh how I do hate to give him up.

If we could have a probable cessation of hostilities I could get home I think. This being the 10th day of our pursuing the enemy, and they having been driven back—back contesting every inch as they fell back with great stubbornness—up to their very gun boats—I thought this morning the crisis was about over and I could get off and I submitted my application to Genl Gregg—he advised me to wait a few days yet before making the application, that he hourly thought the crisis was over. So you see I am still bound to the wheel, and in the mean time another loved child and perhaps another may too—Oh God protect them—and give me strength to bear up a little while longer at least.

²² Major E. Spann Hammond, aide-de-camp on Bonham's staff in 1861, was called home by imperative duties prior to First Manassas. *O. R.*, Series 1, II, 519.

²³ Simpson's son, Wistar Augustus, about four years of age. Invitation to his funeral, slit for black ribbons, reads:

"June 21st 1862

The relatives and friends of Col. W. D. Simpson and Mrs. J. E. Simpson are invited to attend the funeral services of their son Augustus, at the Village burial grounds, on Tomorrow at 8 A. M."

Invitations were carried in a basket to neighbors and friends by a slave.

I cant collect my thoughts sufficiently to give you any thing like a connected account of what has transpired here since the battles before—when I wrote you last I think I told you I thought the battle would commence the next day. So it did. Jackson had come down on the right flank of the Enemy and our Division A. P. Hill's was ordered to cook 3 days rations and join in the expected attack to be made the next day by Jackson—the division marched off from there respective camps on Wednesday and on Thursday evening made the first attack near Mechanicsville—the Enemy was driven back, our rest was not employed that night in fact bivouacked. The next morning they were pursued down the Chickahominy on the other side of Gains Mill here they made another stand, but were repulsed—they gave way and fell back upon their centre where they had [*a page or more missing*] for preserving me—it was his own and none other. I shall endeavour to make my future life comport with what is one from me. I have seen enough of war and death, would that I was out of it now. This fight of Tuesday continued until after night a long time, the Enemy had the strongest position in the whole country, they had their artillery planted splendidly and they have the best artillerists in the world, and guns, the destruction of life here on both sides was *awful awful*. I cant speak with any certainty as to the numbers but they exceeded anything that I had conceived—as usual they fled that night again, we pushed on next morning but we did not get under way until twelve oclock—until that time of day it rained in torrents and kept us back—we did not overtake them, they got to James River and it is said many embarked on transports—they are at least under their gun boats. Thursday Friday and Saturday we have been marching and countermarching in every direction until now this Sunday morning I hardly know where we are, we are way down here some 30 miles from Richmond—we have been sleeping in our clothes in the open air, when we left camp we expected to [*be*] gone 3 days. I left Allen as he seemed scared to death about going near the flashing of the guns—instead of being gone 3 days, we have been gone ten—nearly everybody is almost broken down. I have been on the point of giving up 2 or 3 times, but have held on. Our major²⁴ gave out some days since and went back. Col. McGowan²⁵ got sick leave yesterday for

²⁴ William J. Carter, appointed major of the 14th S. C. Infantry, April 11, 1862. Photostat MS Roster, S. C. Archives Department; original in National Archives.

²⁵ Samuel McGowan (1819-1897) of Laurens, was graduated from S. C. College in 1841; admitted to the bar in 1842, he represented Abbeville in the legislature for 13 years. In the War with Mexico, he rose from private to staff captain in the Palmetto Regiment. Later, he became major general of S. C. militia. After commanding a brigade in S. C. service, and as volunteer aid on Gen. Bonham's staff

3 days and put back to Richmond—the Regt is now on my hands. Col. Marshall²⁶ and all of his field officers gave out some days since. Col. Hamilton²⁷ has no one with him. Col Edwards²⁸ and Jonson [?] are still here. That Regt however has not been fully into any fight yet, I dont think it has fired a gun at the enemy. They say a portion of the Enemy is not far from us now and that we may be engaged again today, I do hope not—but how obstinately they fight—we have driven and driven them—we have whipt them in five separate battles within the past ten days—but they have conducted their retreats so well that I dont know that our victories will amount to any thing but clearing them from around Richmond [*illegible*] destroy a great many of them and a large amount of their property and showing to the world that we can whip them—whenever they will give us a field fight. Yesterday the 3d Regt passed us on their way back to camp they said, they had been sent down the river to collect some arms that the Enemy left in their flight at a certain point—they had about 1500. Carolus²⁹ told [me] that Oss³⁰

in Virginia, he organized and commanded the 14th S. C. Infantry, a unit of Gregg's Brigade, and upon the death of Gregg, was promoted to brigadier. He became governor of South Carolina in 1863. After the war he resumed his law practice in Abbeville, was a member of the state constitutional convention in 1865, and was elected to Congress but was denied his seat. A leader in the Hampton campaign of 1876, and a legislator in 1878, he became an associate justice of the S. C. supreme court in 1879, serving until 1893. F. B. Simkins, "Samuel McGowan," *D. A. B.*

²⁶ J. Foster Marshall (1817-1862) was lieutenant colonel of the 1st S. C. Rifles (Orr's), and was mustered into Confederate service July 20, 1861. Promoted to colonel when Orr resigned, he was killed at second Manassas. O. R., Series I, XII, Part II, 681; Photostat MS Roster, 1st S. C. Rifles, S. C. Archives Department; original in National Archives.

²⁷ Daniel Heyward Hamilton, U. S. marshal in 1860, was lieutenant colonel of 1st S. C. Infantry and became colonel in 1862, but resigned in 1864. Salley, ed., *S. C. Troops*, I, 215.

²⁸ Oliver E. Edwards, colonel of 13th S. C. Infantry, was wounded at second Manassas. O. R. Series I, XII, Part II, 682; Estes, *List of Field Officers*, 40.

²⁹ Carolus A., Simpson's half-brother, sixteen years of age in 1860, left S. C. College in March 1862, to enlist in 3d S. C. Infantry. Wounded at Sharpsburg, taken prisoner and exchanged, he was assigned to the conscript office in Columbia until he recovered and rejoined his regiment, serving in Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia. Commissioned a lieutenant, he was among the troops surrendered by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston at Greensboro, N. C., in 1865. After the war, he was graduated from the medical school in Edinburgh, Scotland, and practiced at Greenville, S. C. Capers, *Confederate Military History*, V, 840; Salley, ed., *S. C. Troops*, II, 313-314; Schedule I, 1860 Census.

³⁰ Ossian F., Simpson's half-brother, nineteen years of age in 1860, enlisted at Laurens on April 14, 1861, in what became Company A, 3rd S. C. Infantry. Mustered into Confederate service in June 1861, he was promoted to sergeant major in May 1862. Salley, ed., *S. C. Troops*, II, 314; Schedule I, 1860 Census.

would not probably loose his arm, I do hope not. That Regt has suffered but little.

I have written you a volume but you will want to hear. Read to Brother W.³¹

Your husband

W D S

Bivouac, Some 6 miles in advance
of Orange C.H. near Rapidan—
August 18, 1862

My Dear Love—

Here we are among the mountains, near the Rapidan, a vast delightful country, yesterday I went up on the highest point of the ridge of mountains behind which we are located, and what a magnificent view. The point rises up from the main ridge like a lofty shot tower, it is perfectly bare having once been in cultivation and from it you can see, it seems to me almost to Washington City—out towards the north the lovely valley of the Rapidan seemingly miles in width, winds between the mountains, as level as a floor, and far away towards Fredericksburg—dotted with beautiful residences, groves, and cultivated fields, from which the finest wheat has just been reaped and shocked, and upon which immense fields of magnificent corn are just ripening, into maturity, interspersed with hundreds of acres of clover, blue grass and timothy and sweet clover, and towards the South stretches the ridge, upon the topmost point of which I was standing. separating the valley in which we are encamped from the valley of the Rapidan, both as lovely as the eye ever beheld. What a country to fight for, can we ever yield it to the vile robber? never, until drenched with our blood and whitened with our bones. As I look across the valley of the Rapidan, the robbers tents whiten the base of almost every mountain, showing a large force in some five or six miles,—how soon the clash of arms will ring along these mountain sides, and valleys, I cant say—but I dont think it will be long. They think they outnumber us and are quite impudent and insolent. A few hours after I left this look out above mentioned. a few of them, cavalry, crossed over to our side and took possession of it, but we drove them back before night and now hold it again.

³¹ John W., Simpson's full brother, married Ann Patillo Farrow, and was thirty-nine years of age in 1860. A lawyer, his property was valued at \$23,500. Simpson, 7; Schedule 1, 1860 Census; this *Magazine*, XII (January 1911), 42.

It is said they have some 90,000 over there, but I don't believe it. I don't care however what their number may be, we intend to whip them, our soldiers have made of them prior to this, and we are certain to do it.

I recd your letter by William Barksdale and one the evening before by mail. I thank you for writing so regularly, and will try to keep at least even, if I don't get you in my debt, but you must remember I am now sixteen miles from mail facilities and it is only now and then that we can send to the office, either to get letters or to mail them, and to night we may move still farther off, we have just recd an order to cook one days rations, this is the premonitory symptom of a night march, but where and for what purpose we can't form an idea—have you recd several letters from me recently? I think not. I asked some questions which you have not answered particularly about the separation of our regt—& &c.

I was glad to learn that Ma was better and perhaps out of danger, that Ossian had reached home and was improving. I was exceedingly anxious about them both. Did Ossian's [*illegible*] reach home before him—and did she see him while in Richmond. Tell Oss he ought to be shot again if he fails to appreciate the interest manifested.

Nearly all of the Carolina troops are somewhere in the vicinity, except Kershaw's brigade. I don't know where it is—as usual we are in the advance, I mean Hill's Division. It seems to me, they are determined to test our metal to the uttermost—the poetical statement is, that the post of danger is the post of honor. I think Hill and Gregg are both infected with the idea.

You express hope that I have recd my supplies, baggage &c—my trunk is still in Richmond and I don't expect to see it again until the campaign is over—our division is named the Light Division and transportation is reduced to the lowest ebb. I have some 3 shirts and 2 or 3 pairs of drawers and socks in my saddle bag—2 blankets, an oil cloth, and over coat. These constitute my worldly goods and chattels here. At night I spread my oil cloth down at the foot of a tree, spread one blanket on it, and cover with the other and my overcoat, with my uniform coat for a pillow. Col McGowan has about the same and we sleep side by side every night of our lives, no two men could get along better, we don't exactly agree in everything, but no two officers in the service are more intimate or harmonious—but there is one thing we do agree in, we are the poorest men in all the Army to provide ahead for our eating and still the poorest to make our negroes provide for us—positively we have no recollection of eating one morsel for two days and nights while the fighting was going on around Richmond and no two men suffer less

inconvenience about things of that sort. Now and then however we get something good—yesterday as I came down from the Mountain I called at a house and a beautiful young lady with a nice dress, hoops and all on, sold me four nice chickens for \$1 and 10 lbs of lard for 30c per pound—cheap. I then bought from the sutler 3 lbs of coffee at \$3 per pound, \$9 for the three pounds—cheap again—and since yesterday we have been luxuriating on fried chicken, good lard biscuits and green corn, appropriated from the fields.

I think this is the first chicken or lard I have had since I have been in Va—but of all things, I miss the fruit of old Laurens, oh for a basket of peaches and a cart load of watermelons, you dont like these things much and can form no conception how I miss them—there are good green apples in this country—nothing else—they will never get ripe.

The courier is ready to start, love to all—our chicks especially—I would like to see them.

Your husband

W.D. SIMPSON

Richmond Va

Feb 10 1863

My Dear Love—

I recd your letter yesterday and was glad to hear from you. I will expect a letter once a week according to promise and will forward same on my part. I would be much pleased to have you here with me indeed—but I would be uneasy all the time on account of the small pox—it is prevailing pretty extensively in the city—said to be almost an epidemic. I do not know whether it is in my immediate neighborhood or not.

Nothing new in city from the army—all quiet is the cry and I think will remain so during the winter months—we are still waiting for some news from Charleston and Vicksburg. There is an opinion that the North West is almost ready to break off—if they do so we will have peace—if not we may expect a bloody and terrible time yet.

Everything is as high as it seems to me they can go here—if I undertake to buy an apple in the street I am charged 50 [cents] an apple. I pay \$2 dollars doz for washing and everything else in proportion. You need not get Mans to purchase any cloth, I expect I can get it here about as cheaply as in Charleston.

I dont know yet how I will be pleased with congressional life—cant tell yet—every thing is new—both as to subjects considered and as to the mode of conducting business.

I must await further developments. I am in hopes that we will not be in session many months. I came through Charlotte and missed the connection and had to stay all day there Monday. Called and took dinner with your Aunt ³² nobody at home, but herself and Miss Julia—went to church with them. Cousin Mollie had gone to Macon, Geo. I forgot to leave Oss's Coleman' [*illegible*] and but do not say anything about it. I will try and send them back in some way—do not say anything about it.

Love to you my dear wife and all our little chicks,

your husband

W D SIMPSON

Richmond

16 March 63

Brother W—

I have your appointment very much at heart—but you will see by the inclosed that I have failed—as I always do in any matter which I very much desire.

I first brought to the attention of Mr. Memminger [Secretary of the Treasury] the fact that our Dist[ri]ct desired a Depository in Laurens—That there were frequent applications—and that the citizens desired you to have an agency—and I thought he would appoint you at once—which in fact he was about doing—but in a day or two he wrote me that after thinking the matter over—he had come to the conclusion that he would like to establish a Depository at some central place so as to accommodate a considerable section of the State—and he thought Newberry would be a better place than Laurens and requested that I would suggest some name at that place—upon the receipt of this I prepared an application signed by James Farrow and endorsed by Col Orr ³³ fully—proposing that you should receive the appointment and keep the office at Laurens—and attend some day or two of each week at Newberry—and the enclosed is a response to that application.

Memminger is a scoundrel. Laurens first suggested the idea—first felt the want of such an agency and should have been accommodated.

³² Perhaps Harriet, daughter of Archibald and Nancy (Nisbet) Young. She married Thomas A. Sharpe of Laurens District. Their daughter Julia married Nathan Napier of Macon, Ga. Young Family Tree.

³³ James L. Orr, represented S. C. in the Confederate Senate, 1861-1862, and James Farrow in the House, 1862-1865. Record and Pension Office, *Executive and Congressional Directory of the Confederate States, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1899), *passim*.

Newberry will be of no service to Laurens—if our people have to go that far, they will go on to Columbia. I pressed this upon Meminger—but he still thought Newberry the place. He is a fool and I verily believe will turn out to be a scoundrel. I shall remember him. I think I shall suggest the name of Silas Johnston²⁴—and when I do so I shall give Mr. Memminger a scorchy note.

You want to know something about the currency²⁵—well I cant tell what we have done yet—but the currency is getting into a fearful condition or at least in consequence of its past inflation, prices have increased to such an extent that it is absolutely alarming. There is no telling where they will go to.

The volume must be advanced or we will be swamped. How to do this is the question. Prepare for *heavy taxes* will not the people [*illegible*] wont they pay cheerfully any amount we fix. What has become of Oss and Carolus. It is hard they have to remain privates. I wish they could both be discharged and get clean out. I would like to see them in service—but what little encouragement they receive.

They are certainly superior to many others who get office. I *cant* account for it—write to me something about the election and the news generally—your *notes* are certainly very short—my hands are so cold I can scarcely write.

Your brother

W D SIMPSON²⁶

²⁴ Silas Johnston, aged thirty-eight, a lawyer in Newberry District, in 1860 possessed property valued at \$51,000. Microfilm MS Schedule 1, Population, Emory University Library, original in National Archives.

²⁵ In the Confederate Congress, Simpson addressed the House, asking what if anything could be done to stabilize and restore value to Confederate currency. His speeches, well received, were made in executive session, hence could not be published. He therefore asked his wife to tell members of the family, friends, and acquaintances, about his activities, Simpson, *Simpson*, 17-18.

²⁶ No changes have been made in the phraseology, spelling, or capitalization of these letters, but "&" has been rendered as "and", periods have been substituted for dashes at the end of sentences and have been supplied at the close of paragraphs when omitted, and a few commas have been inserted where needed for clarity.

A. K. G.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
OF CHARLESTON 1824

Compiled by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from July)

Died, lately in Fairfield district, Charles D. Bradford, aged 90 years. . . . After the ravages of the enemy in upper Carolina, this old man, then in the high vigor of rebellion to legitimate oppression, and after having fought heroically in several important battles, on the retreat of Cornwallis to Camden, was arrested by inquisitorial toryism, dragged to the quarters of the commander in chief, condemned by a military tribunal to the ignominious death of the gallows for the noble crime of being a friend to his country, saw several of his friends and fellow laborers for freedom swing in relentless cruelty . . . [and was] led to the same spot . . . surrounded by children and friends. . . . Providence overruling the iniquity of man, the desolater of the south remitted his sentence, he was restored to his country, his wife, his children and friends. . . . The State of S. C. amply provided for the support of himself and aged wife in their declining years. . . . (Wednesday, August 11, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Charles Scott, are invited to attend his Funeral from his late residence, No. 11, Tradd-street, This Afternoon, at 5 o'clock. (Thursday, August 12, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. John S. Thorn, and those of Mr. Richard Fordham, are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of the former, This Afternoon, at half past 3 o'clock, from No. 9, Cumberland-street. (Friday, August 13, 1824.)

A Jury of Inquest was impanelled on the 12th inst. on Gibbs & Harpers wharf, upon the body of a white boy (aged about 17 years) named Jerry Fursbash, of the sch[oo]ne[r] George Washington, Captain Joseph Morris, of North Carolina . . . verdict death by accidental drowning. John Michel, *Coroner*. (Saturday, August 14, 1824.)

Died at Barnwell Court-house (S.C) on the 8th day of April last, John C. Allen, Esq. Attorney at Law, aged 41 years, leaving an amiable wife and six children. . . . He was a firm and independent patriot, an

affectionate husband and father and a kind and benevolent citizen. (Saturday, August 14, 1824.)

Married, at Drewsville, N. H. Mr. Jared Chapin, aged eighty, to Miss Sally Fasset, aged twenty. . . . (Monday, August 16, 1824.)

Died, on the 12th inst. Mr. Charles Scott, Printer, aged 29 years, a native of Lincolnshire, (Eng.). . . . (Monday, August 16, 1824.)

Departed this life on the 13th inst. Mr. Edward Fox, in the 21st year of his age. . . . He was a dutiful son to his only parent, an aged and kind mother, and was affectionately attached to his brothers and sisters. . . . (Monday, August 16, 1824.)

Died, in Davidson County, N. C. on the 9th ult. Mr. Barnet Wier, aged about one hundred and twenty years. He was a native of Germany, but has been an inhabitant of this country as far back as the memories of our oldest inhabitants extend. . . . (Monday, August 16, 1824.)

A Jury of inquest was impanelled yesterday morning at 9 o'clock in Elliott-street . . . [to enquire into] the death of David Auld, a native of Philadelphia, aged about 38 years, but for several years a resident of this city . . . the verdict, death by cutting his throat with a razor in a fit of insanity, caused by intemperance, John Michel, *Coroner*. (Tuesday, August 17, 1824.)

The Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances of Capt. Samuel Connor, and Mrs. Mary Connor; also of Mr. and Mrs. James Calder, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Eason, are invited to attend the Funeral of Mrs. Mary Connor, from her late residence, Anson-street, at 4 o'clock This Afternoon, without further invitation. (Tuesday, August 17, 1824.)

The friends and acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Miott, are invited to attend the funeral of their Child, This Morning, at 8 o'clock, without further invitation, from the corner of King and Society-streets. (Thursday, August 19, 1824.)

Died, suddenly on the 6th inst. at the seat of Charles Augustus Dale, Esq., Manor of Livingston, N. Y. Ralph Izard Esq. of this city. (Friday, August 20, 1824.)

Died, at Cachea, Cape de Verds, at the house of the Governor, on 30th April last, Capt. George W. Hodges, of Taunton, Mass. late Master

of the brig Ironsides of Boston, aged 24. Also on board the brig Ironsides, at Cachea, Capt. Simron Metcalb of Middletown, Conn. Capt. M. had been sentenced to Cachea for alledged crimes of piracy, in capturing several Portuguese vessels with slaves while in command of the Oriental brig. Aroganda but through the intercession of the American Consul, he obtained permission to go to the Cape de Verds, and was on board the brig Ironsides, in which vessel he was to take passage, when he was seized with African fever, which terminated his existance in a few days, in May last. (Friday, August 20, 1824.)

Died suddenly, at Tallmage, Ohio, on the morning of the 14th July, the Rev. Aaron Kinne, of Alford Mass. aged 80 years. . . . (Saturday, August 21, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Henry Martin, and those of Mr. Francis Good, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock, without further invitation, at the corner of Wolf and Meetings streets, Charleston Neck. (Monday, August 23, 1824.)

Died, at Winslow, Maine, 4th June, Captain Joseph Wadsworth, aged 74. He was five years in the Revolutionary War, and often in dangers and perils with Gen. Washington. In 1770 he was wounded by a musket ball, which grazed the skin of his under lip, and the wound never entirely healed. About three years since, it became troublesome, and terminated his days. (Tuesday, August 24, 1824.)

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS *

The South Lives in History: Southern Historians and Their Legacy. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. Pp. xiii, 163. Index. \$3.00.)

This small book by a professor of history at the University of Oregon, is an interesting and valuable study in Southern historiography. Its five chapters are on distinctive but related subjects: The development of the writing of Southern history since the late 19th century; William E. Dodd; Ulrich B. Phillips; Walter Lynwood Fleming; and an essay on sources and authorities.

To Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins University, the author attributes the initial impetus for the scholarly treatment of the South's past. Adams and Johns Hopkins moulded such historians of the South as John Spencer Bassett, George Petrie, St. George L. Sioussat, Franklin L. Riley, and William P. Trent. After 1901, William A. Dunning made Columbia University the mecca for Southern students, and Dunning and Columbia produced as historians of the South, James W. Garner, Walter L. Fleming, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Charles W. Ramsdell, C. Mildred Thompson, William Watson Davis, and Thomas S. Staples. Other important developments that facilitated the rewriting of Southern history by Southerners resentful of Northern distortions, were the organizing of Southern historical societies, the assembling of collections of Southern source materials, the introduction of collegiate courses on Southern history, and the rise of Southern university presses. Ultimately, William B. Hesseltine (1936), Robert S. Cotterill (1936), Francis B. Simkins (1947), and Clement Eaton (1951) published textbooks on the history of the South.

In three successive chapters, Stephenson combines biographical sketches of William E. Dodd, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Walter Lynwood Fleming with critical evaluations of their works on Southern history. Dodd emerges as the historian of democracy, Phillips as historian of aristocracy, and Fleming as historian of conservatism. Stephenson's own Southern liberalism results in a too sympathetic treatment of Dodd and a too unappreciative handling of Phillips and Fleming. Perhaps in a

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

quietly interlinear fashion, Stephenson is pleading for moderation in today's crisis over racial relations in the South.

Stephenson's short book offers the mature, tolerant, and wise reflections of an important historian of the South, and presents a tremendous amount of useful information and stimulating interpretations concerning the writing of Southern history. It will live in history as a minor historiographical classic.

The Citadel

FRANK W. RYAN, JR.

The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes. By Henry Smith Stroupe. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 172. Preface; alphabetical, chronological, denominational, and geographical lists; bibliography; index.)

The title and preface give the nature, content, and method of this work. After an historical introduction, the author gives for each of the 159 known and 9 proposed publications, the title, with variations; place of publication; date of first and last issues; periodicity; format, with number of pages and columns; circulation; editor; publisher (owner of both periodical and printing equipment) or proprietor (owner of periodical but not of printing equipment); and brief sketch identifying editor, denomination, type of content, and location of extant files.

The historical introduction traces with skill the development of the religious press from 1802, the year of publication of the *Georgia Analytical Repository*, through 1865, when all suspended publication. The Rev. Henry Holcombe, a Baptist minister of Savannah, where the *Repository* was issued, aimed, he said, to contribute toward the maturity of both literature and piety by including biographical data, historical sketches, associational proceedings, accounts of revivals, and essays on civil government, but he abandoned the effort after six bimonthly numbers, for lack of supporting "literary spirit." During the "Benevolent Period" of revivalism, general religious effort, and missions, several family religious weeklies appeared, the Presbyterians leading in number. With the thirties, sectarianism became pronounced, and the word "Southern" appeared in the titles and many articles in defense of slavery, the Baptists leading. Specialized publications devoted to sermons, missions, religious controversy, etc., came after 1837. In the forties, the separation of Southern Baptists and Southern Methodists marked the bitterness of the slavery issue. By that time, most denominations had official organs for each state, and the census of 1850 lists the Baptists leading, with twelve periodicals, averaging 1,929 subscribers; the Presbyterians with five,

averaging 1,300; and the Methodists with three, averaging 2,400. The ratio of subscribers to communicants among all denominations was one to ten. The religious press was bitterly pro-Southern but anti-Secession until after withdrawal from the Union. Periodicals flourished, children's papers, and particularly soldiers' papers increasing during the first years of the war, but publication became difficult and the end of the war marked the suspension or disappearance of them all.

The book is eminently usable and a valuable addition to bibliography and research material.

LEAH TOWNSEND

The Desolate South, 1865-1866: A Picture of the Battlefields and of the Defeated Confederacy. By John T. Trowbridge. Edited with an introduction by Gordon Carroll. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1956. Pp. xii, 320. \$6.00.)

John Trowbridge, poet, novelist, newspaperman and abolitionist, began a journey in 1865 from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which eventually took him across the principal battlefields of the late war and into most of the ruined cities of the defeated Confederacy. Originally published in larger form under the title: *A Picture of the Desolate States and the Work of Restoration*, the journal of this Yankee's hegira became a part of the Radical literature of propaganda which mobilized Northern public opinion in support of the harsh policy of Reconstruction enforced upon the South.

The battlefield pages are superb reporting. Trowbridge had a painter's eye for symbolic pictures. His traveller, striking across the open wastelands about Fredericksburg because the barns, houses, fences and even the roads had been obliterated by the havoc of war, brings home to the modern as volumes of statistics could not the terrible devastation of the Southern land. His merrily whistling Negro whose plow impartially roots-out of the field of Antietam the skulls of the valiant Northern and Southern dead epitomizes in a sentence the deep tragedy of the epic of American agony. Disillusionment is the keynote here, and the full mead of praise is poured out to both Southern and Northern courage and idealism.

The remainder of the work is an abolitionist tract. Trowbridge has been praised for objective reporting. If so it was in a balance of extremes rather than by a search for truth. He accepts contemporary Columbians' view of the burning of their city but savagely attacks the Confederacy

for the burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. His interpretation of the Reconstruction problem is as oversimplified as a medieval mystery play. Unionists are portrayed as a band of ignored and virtuous patriots who should be placed in charge of Southern affairs. The ex-planters appeared to Trowbridge as a set of evil and designing men, parasites who had lived for centuries upon the blood and sweat of their fellow-humans, and who, now, but awaited the evacuation of the Northern army to return the Negro to a bestial slavery. And the Negro, in these pages, has become with freedom a hard-working, responsible, ambitious people deserving of protection and citizenship. Implicit in the argument is the necessity for a long Northern occupation and reconstruction of the South.

The Trowbridge reports on the battlefields were and are a necessary corrective for those who see the War as all glory, trumpet flourishes and streaming banners. The naïve and completely unrealistic description of the Southern problem of 1865 cannot help historians nor provide solutions to the lingering remainders of Reconstruction which was caused at least in part by just such works as this one. Only the present cult of Civil War history could have justified its republication.

University of South Carolina

WILLIAM A. FORAN.

THE SOCIETY

Mrs. Camille E. Bryan, of Lambertville, New Jersey, has presented to the Society a most interesting portrait of John C. Calhoun, which had been given to her father by Calhoun himself. It was painted by Thomas B. Welch, who was born in Charleston in 1814, but apparently left the city while very young. A pupil of James B. Longacre, Welch worked as an engraver for some years, producing a number of fine plates. He exhibited in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts between 1832 and 1860, and the Philadelphia directory of 1841-1845 gives his occupation as "portrait-painter." About 1861 he gave up engraving and went to Paris to study art; there he died in 1874.

ANDERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

On the evening of May 10, 1956, this association was organized at the Anderson Library, with eighty charter members. The following officers were elected: Horace G. Williams, *president*; Joe A. Farmer, *vice-president*; Mrs. George R. MacDonald, *secretary*; Harold C. Johnson, *treasurer*. Also elected were nine members of the *Board of Governors*:

Harold C. Johnson, Mrs. Virginia Gilmer Crist, John W. Linley, Jr., Mrs. George R. MacDonald, Henry Von Hasseln, Joe A. Farmer, Mrs. Louie R. Ledbetter, Charles B. Nichols, Horace G. Williams.

THE PATRICK HENRY SHRINE

The Hanover County Branch of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities has undertaken to purchase "Scotchtown," home of Patrick Henry, with 6½ surrounding acres, and to restore the manor house and gardens. It is hoped that this shrine can be opened to visitors in the spring of 1957, in time for the 350th anniversary celebration of the settlement of Jamestown.

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Dr. Joseph I. Waring, Old Town Road, Charleston, S. C., desires information on physicians and the medical profession in general, in this state prior to the year 1861.

Mrs. Pearl C. Turner, 1102 N. High Street, Brady, Texas, wants information on family of Mary (Polly) Thomas, born in South Carolina in 1788, daughter of Evan and Elizabeth Thomas. She married William, son of John Moore, Surry County, N. C., in 1802, removed to Kentucky, then to Illinois, and died in Texas in 1871. She had a brother Samuel and a sister.

Anne Davis Moore (widow of Col. James Moore of Ninety Six) married Toliver (Taliaferro) Bostick some time after 1782. Toliver Bostick's will is filed in Edgefield County, S. C., proven 1813. Can anyone furnish names of Toliver Bostick's parents, or of Anne Davis (Moore) Bostick's parents? Maj. George W. McRory, Jr., 2810 Valley Drive, Alexandria, Virginia.

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